1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thia̍: , the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thia̍: . When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thia̍: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thia̍: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thia̍: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thia̍: . As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thia̍: and its

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kê, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

3; Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with [352] business *interests meets his customers here at his desk against one* wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest [356] hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

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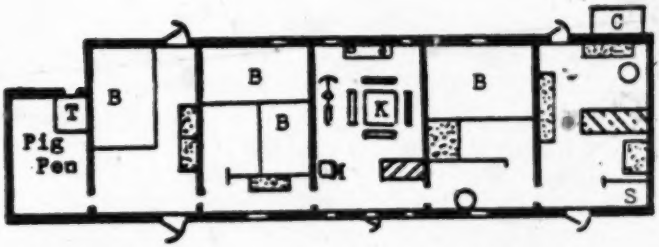

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[556]
[235]
[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

• 356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The [197] fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

843 The husband usually is told matter of factly as soon as the wife suspects she is pregnant for only wives keep track of the menstrual cycle. Outside the immediate household, others are not normally told until the woman starts to show but since social relations are so intimate, word soon gets around. Outsiders are really curious only about brides but only old women in the village ask brides openly, usually accompanied with a cackle and slapped knee, "Are you pregnant yet?" The girls never answer and are greatly embarrassed while older people laugh openly and younger ones smile. From older women, the expectant mother learns what should be done, what is good to eat, what food and activities to avoid, etc.

[782] The pregnant girl may have prayed to a particular god or a variety of gods for assistance in becoming pregnant so the answer to the prayer should be recognized with rich food sacrifices. Rarely does anyone regret a pregnancy.

843 There are many taboos for a pregnant woman, such as
7% the set which derives from the belief in Tai Shen, the god of the pregnant womb. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant, Tai Shen enters her room and hides somewhere, under the bed, in a chair, on a picture on the wall, etc. If he is disturbed, he may harm the baby, possibly causing an abortion. Thus, it is necessary to keep the bedroom undisturbed all
[356] during pregnancy. The belief prevents sweeping and cleaning

843 and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a
796 period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of po-
856 tentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly
847 safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning
before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertent-
ly offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain
in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it
844 is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because
796 of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place
in the regular bedroom.

878 An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen
844 is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a
796 small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor
845 for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers
with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore
having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but
still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible
to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, reli-
gious specialists are able to detect his hiding place and
the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hos-
pital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

843 There is a whole host of other taboos for the preg-
nant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the
baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes,
etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding
ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
as substitutes. [356] [582] Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624 about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
(625) rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

• [356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
46 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being